1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

765 the festival. A *tuhuna* would cry in a high voice, "*To ha'a iti ia* (name)," (This share for ——), naming the man. One of the attendants would raise on his shoulder a pig or a part of one and throw it on the dance pavement. The man named would come forward with his friends and take away his share. Some pig and other food was eaten at the feast place, the rest being taken home. The members of a family who were honoring a spirit at the festival could not eat of the pigs that were in the pile laid out on the feast place for their relative, but they could eat of the other piles that belonged to the other spirits.

Melville's descriptive of the "Feast of the Calabashes," (23, pp. 192-193) which I judge to have been a funerary feast (*ko'ina tupapa'u*), though possibly it was a feast following war, gives some excellent details regarding festivals. The appearance of the feast place is described as follows:

> All along the piazza of the Ti (the warriors' house) were arranged elaborately carved canoe-shaped vessels, some twenty feet in length, filled with newly made poee-poee, and sheltered from the sun by the broad leaves of the banana. At intervals were heaps of green bread-fruit, raised in pyramidical stacks, resembling the regular piles of heavy shot to be seen in the yard of an arsenal. Inserted into the interstices of the huge stones which formed the pi-pi were large boughs of trees; hanging from the branches of which, and screened from the sun by their foliage, were innumerable little packages with leafy coverings, containing the meat of the numerous hogs which had been slain, done up in this manner to make it more accessible to the crowd. Leaning against the railing of the piazza were an immense number of long, heavy bamboos, plugged at the lower end, and with their projecting muzzles stuffed with a wad of leaves. These were filled with water from the stream, and each of them might hold from four to five gallons.

The making and drinking of *kava* is described as a part of this festival. Melville (23, p. 196) describes finding on the second day of the feast, the area before the warrior's house, the scene of the first day's activities, "altogether deserted by the men; the whole distance being filled by bands of females, shouting and dancing." This day "was ushered in by still more uproarious noises than the first. The skins of innumerable sheep seemed to be resounding to the blows of an army of drummers." He saw

[536 887]

> . . . four or five old women who, in a state of utter nudity, with their arms extended flatly down their sides, and holding themselves perfectly erect, were leaping stiffly into the air, like so many sticks bobbing to the surface, after being pressed perpendicularly into the water. They preserved the utmost gravity of countenance, and continued their extraordinary movements without a single moment's cessation.

Melville's description (23, pp. 196-199) of what he saw at the feast of the calabashes, undoubtedly giving an excellent idea of the general appearance of one of these great festivals, is as follows:

> Within the spacious quadrangle (the *tohua*) the whole population of the valley seemed to be assembled, and the sight presented was truly remarkable. Beneath the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 574 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke, haka ha'a manumanu*, and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.) [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 In *ko'ika hakahiti*, chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to out-
556 strip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make
431 a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

524 and forth with the pulling of a string, to the accompaniment of words; three-sided figures; figures made on four hands; and trick figures that disappear with a single jerk of the string.

[552] All the figures are named: some for an object which the pattern resembles—a pool of Hakahaa, the squarish ray fish, a house, a *kava* bowl, the tropic bird, the intestinal membrane, lightning, the island of Ua Huka; some for objects used by the natives, but without any resemblance to them in form, such as a sweet-smelling wreath or a stone pounder; some for mythological characters or objects—the *kava* bowl of Akaui, the canoe of Hai, Tohiau (a hero), the many roads of Tafai, the fish of Tana-oa, the house of Tonahei, the house of Atanua; some for places where the design was used possibly for lasings, such as the back post of the house or the attachment of breadfruit net; some for the action of the figure which seems to resemble the activity of some animal or person, such as a thief sneaking about or an eel slipping through the fingers.

DANCING

ANCIENT DANCING

535 The natives of this generation know practically nothing of the dancing of ancient times. A few can give vague descriptions. No one can show how any of the dances were actually done. Sufficient was learned, however, to prove three significant points: there was anciently no dance corresponding to the hula of Hawaii and *upaupa* of Tahiti, of which the hip and abdominal movements are the characteristic feature; there was solo dancing, rather than group dancing; there were no war dances.

Few of the descriptions of dances and dancing given by the early visitors are of any value. Krusenstern (16, pp. 176-177) says, "Their dancing consists in hopping for a considerable time on the same spot, frequently raising the hands in the air, and moving the fingers with great velocity."

Langsdorff (18, p. 158) also describes dancing that he witnessed:

> The principal of these assemblies are the dancing festivals. The performers in the dances make many springs and pantomomic gestures, with quick movements of the hands and arms, without moving much from one spot. It seems as if the people of Nukahiwa, and the same may be said with regard to many other uncivilized nations, mean to represent in their pantomimic dances most of the common actions of life, as fishing, slinging stones, running on stilts, swimming, and the like.

Stewart (26, pp. 234-235) gives a fairly good picture of a performance that he saw:

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The performers in the part we witnessed, were a young chief eighteen or twenty years old at one end of the arena, and two boys of eight or ten at the corners of the other. The music, if such it can be called, was that of four drums on each side of the inner pavement, and the voices and loud clapping of hands of about one hundred and fifty singers, seated on the upper platform with the chiefs and warriors. . . . .

The drums stand upright on the ground before the performer, and are beaten with the hand only, in rapid strokes of the fingers joined together, while the ball rests on the edge. . . . .

The dance commenced by a slow beating on the drums, following by graceful movements of the hands, arms, and feet of the dancers in a similar time, but increasing quickly with the rapidity of the beat, to a display of great activity. The singers joined in upon the first motions of the dancers, these last also taking a part, sometimes in solos, and sometimes in duet, followed by responses from the orchestra or grand choruses by the whole. . . . .

The dance ceased at the end of twenty or thirty minutes, and a company of young females, forty or fifty in number, seated on an adjoining and elevated platform, began singing, in the dull and monotonous repetitions of the same intonations of voice characterizing all their songs, accompanied by a loud and simultaneous clapping of the hands, brought together in a manner to produce a very peculiar sound. An inquiry into the meaning of this, made us acquainted with the occasion of the present celebration.

The learning of a new set of songs had been enjoined some months previous on these girls, and they were placed under certain restrictions of the tabu till it should be accomplished. This had now been done, and the dance was held in commemoration of it. It was only of a common kind, and not of sufficient interest to attract the great multitude that often assemble, as we are told, at some of the more distinguished.

The most common and most popular dance appears to have been that which was called *haka pahaka*. According to Dordillon (8) this was done by men only, and this statement is confirmed by modern informants. The characteristic feature of this dance was that it was performed by the dancer on one foot, the other foot and both arms being extended. One informant describes seeing a performance of the *haka pahaka*, which was danced by four men and two women. The women were inside a circle formed by the men. This description would suggest that the raised and extended foot rested on the leg of the man next, as in some of the dances of Micronesia, but whether this was done in the Marquesas or not I did not ascertain. All other informants have led me to believe that individuals danced alone on one foot in the way described—in other words that it was always a solo dance.

At Pua Ma'u the natives said that in this dance one man would challenge another, each trying to catch his opponent by the head as he danced about on one leg. The favorite shift was that of dodging under the arm of one's opponent. If a dancer could catch the head of his opponent and upset him the other man was defeated. The inhabitants of Pua Ma'u say that this dance was brought to this bay from the island

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535 of Ua Pou. The people of Ua Pou speak of it as a dance in which the chief particularly showed off his splendor at festivals. On the feast place of Hakahau is a large column of basalt, about five feet high and square on top, upon which the chief used to mount to perform the *haka pahaka*, with arms extended and one leg raised sideways while all his people admired him.

The *haka pahaka* accompanied various songs, having no particular musical accompaniment of its own. One informant stated that it was danced with the long feather ornaments called *kihi* (see Personal Adornment) on the fingers, but other information makes me think he was in error. A Nuku Hiva man described the *pahaka* as being performed by a group of men dancing on one foot around a number of women who stood inside, while drums, hand-clapping (*papaki*), clapping the hand against the cavity formed by holding the elbow against the side of the body (*hako*), and the singing of the chant called *uta*, furnished the accompaniment. The women in the middle are said to have danced with their arms raised in the air and with hands quivering. Different groups of accompanists beat the drums, clapped, made the *hoko*, and sang. The informant who gave the account said that this dance was also called specifically the *hu'a*.

On Ua Pou the *hu'a* was described by an old woman who had seen the dance in her youth. It was done by two men, each of whom wore feather or beard ornaments (*kihi*) on all four fingers of each hand. One man was seated, while the other stood with arms extended, one foot resting on the other's knee.

The *haka koke*, or *hakakokekoke*, was a very active dance done by both men and women, the main feature of which seems to have been the crossing of the feet in the dance (*koke* means to cross the feet). One motion of the dance was described to me as consisting in standing on one foot with arms extended and leaning over half sideways and half backwards until the long feathers of the headdress of the dancer touched the ground. This was the test of an accomplished dancer.

The dance described by Marchand (22, p. 137) in which men carried on an accompaniment by clapping one hand on the opposite crooked elbow (*hoko*), and clapping the hands one against the other while "a single dancer executes some movement with the legs, crossing one over the other without changing his place" was apparently the *haka kokekoke*.

The *haka manumanu* (*manu*, bird) was performed by young girls at the *ko'ina tuhi ue* (see Festivals: Tattooing). The girls are described as standing stationary and making motions with the arms and hands imitative of birds flying. For this dance the feather ornaments called

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kihi were worn on the fingers. The dancers wore the great pleated hoop skirt. (See fig. 27, *a*.) 535

The dance by naked women at funerary feasts and by widows of warriors before war was called *heva* or *hakahevaheva*. The hair was allowed to hang down behind, and the arms were raised over the head, the hands being quivered or fluttered while there was a continuous jumping up and down—as they leapt the mourners uttered sharp cries. Women are described as dancing naked at the great funerary feast called *vaihopu*. (See Festivals.) Whether this was the *heva* dance or not I do not know, but it seems probable that it was. On Nuku Hiva, this dance was called *ue tupapaku*, weeping for the dead. Melville's description of old women dancing naked at a festival is quoted in the section on funerary rites. (See Death.)

Another dance called the *tutu* is described as being done by women alone to the accompaniment of clapping by men. The women wore the feather ornaments on their fingers. In the manuscript of Dordillon (9) is described a dance called *uhe*, in which dancers whose bodies were stained with the yellow *ena* performed in a circle holding hands around the child of a chief. In Dordillon's dictionary (8) are given the following terms referring to dances and dancing: *tutaehamereu, tutaehaveneu,* dance of libertines; *tunotunou*, to pantomime; *patautau*, lecherous dance; *ma'e'e*, dance; *ko'e'e*, to flutter the hands in dancing; *keremaitu*, kind of dance; *huhumaitu*, dance for amusement; *haka'eva'eva*, to sing and dance in honor of someone to obtain presents; *ha'a navenave*, to play the clown, dance naked; *enata ha'a navenave*, a clown. The little that is known concerning the pantomimic performances at the memorial festivals is described in conjunction with those rites. [192]

MODERN DANCING

The *tapriata*, the dance that is always seen today in the Marquesas, is not an ancient dance of these islands. It is said to have been introduced from the Tuamotus and is probably original in that region or Tahiti, or perhaps both. It is dramatic and pantomimic, expressing stories, incidents and messages. Every such dance has its particular name indicative of the story it tells or the message it carries. For instance one performed especially in our honor was called "*Ka'oha nui*," which may be here translated, "Cordial greetings to you."

In the *tapriata* as it was seen by us in the Marquesas, the dancers always remained in one spot, the men being in two parallel rows with the women in between, if it were a dance in which women took part.

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535 The men frequently danced alone. In other words, there are no figures or formations in the dance—in the Tuamotus and in Tahiti evolutions of the dancers form an important element. The main part for the men

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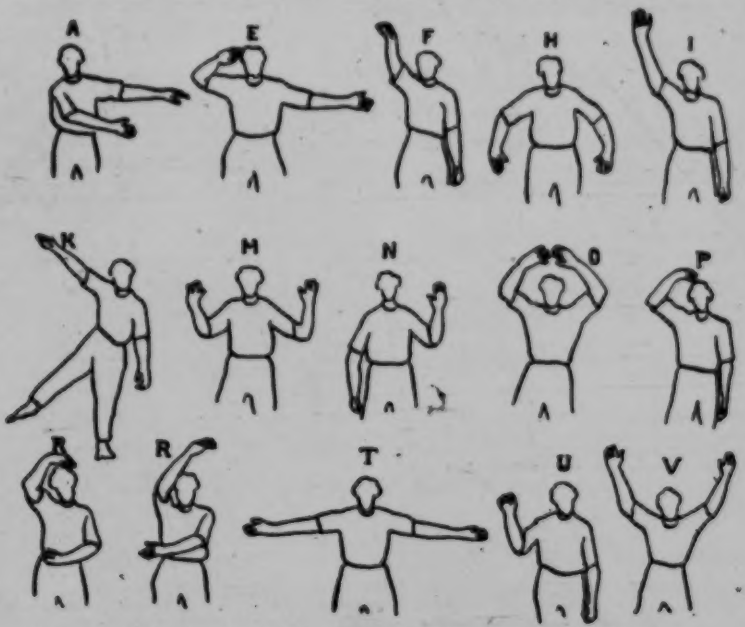

FIGURE 28.—Signal code used in dancing the *tapriata*.

in the Marquesas consists in leg and arm movements expressing the letters of a code of signaling which is really the basis of the dance (see fig. 28). How the natives came by this code I have not been able to determine. It was probably learned from French soldiers or sailors stationed in the Marquesas, or perhaps from other sailors or from Tahitians who had picked it up in some way. The women's part consists in standing in one spot, holding the shoulders and head absolutely motionless while the hips and abdomen, which are thrust forward, are swayed rapidly from side to side, the hands being used occasionally for slight gestures.

535 [534] The accompaniment consists of a rapid rhythmical drumming with two sticks on a large kerosene can or tin pan. Every dance has its particular drummed accompaniment. First the drummer (or drummers), seated on the ground, begins the accompaniment. After a moment of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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introductory drumming one man among the dancers cries out in a high rapid monotone the announcement of the dance. With the last word of this announcement the dancers begin. In some *tapriata*, there is a repetition of this cry at different points through the dance. Caillot (3, pls. XLVII, XLIX, L, LI, LII) gives pictures of *tapriata* in the Marquesas.

HOKI TROUPES

Hoki were visiting parties of singers and dancers who went from valley to valley and sometimes from island to island, giving their performances, and seeking gifts in return. According to native informants both on Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, this custom, strongly suggesting the *arioi* of Tahiti, was not ancient but grew up in both sections of the group after French occupation. It seems that the custom could not have been introduced from Tahiti, for all activities of the *arioi* on that island ceased years before French occupation in the Marquesas. A *hoki* party in the Marquesas would be made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, or young people, but included also married people. I am by no means convinced, however, that the *hoki* was not a revival of an ancient custom of this kind, coming as the result of the cessation of native warfare after the French control had established itself, and of the consequent safety of such parties in going from valley to valley. The description of *hoki* troupes in the legends of Ono and Tupa, both certainly ancient, is very strong evidence that the institution was an ancient one in the Marquesas. In times which preceded the protohistoric period, during which wars of revenge were running riot throughout the islands, it is probable that the people of the group or sections of the group were more unified, and that traveling dancing troupes resembling the *arioi* of Tahiti would have been able to go about in safety.

Hoki was actually the name of the type of song that was composed and sung by these troupes and is said to be the ancient term for *rari*. (See Chants.) On Hiva Oa it is said that the *hoki* originated as a means of supporting parties visiting in a valley at the time of a festival. There seems to have been no particular season or time when these troupes went about. The people who constituted the party were called *po'i hoki*—any group of men and women, numbering usually about forty, could organize themselves into a *hoki*. A song (*hoki*) was composed for them. The song was laudatory and was arranged so that the names of different persons could be inserted in it when it was sung in their honor. Some *hoki* were made up solely of names arranged and sung rhythmically. When the *hoki* troupe had composed, practiced, and learned their song they would start off for another island or another valley. Both men and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Both men and
535 women were anointed and dyed with yellow *ena* and oil. They wore
[302] yellow *ti* leaves as girdles, and yellow *ti* leaves strung obliquely across the body from one shoulder, flowers in the ears, necklaces (*hei*) of flowers around the neck, and crowns of flowers on the head.

Arrived at a valley the party began to perform at the first house they came to, dancing and singing and inserting the names of the members of the family in their song. The family gave them a present for each name that was sung. In this way they proceeded up and about the valley, visiting every house. They ate wherever they happened to be at meal times. Usually the party slept at the house of the chief, but frequently they slept somewhere else. If a *hoki* party came to a valley seeking gifts, it was certain that inhabitants of the valley would return the compliment—it was the universal rule that an equal number of gifts must be given in return. This was a matter of pride with the valleys. It does not seem to have been so much a matter of rivalry and desire to outdo each other as of a strict squaring of accounts.

On Nuku Hiva a staff with hair and woven sennit (probably a *toko-toko pio'o*, see Personal Adornment) was always carried ahead of a *hoki* troupe as it proceeded. The prototype of the *hoki*, according to this informant, was the custom called *moko*, which consisted of parties going from one valley to others seeking gifts of food in preparation for a feast. There was, however, no singing or dancing connected with this ancient cutom. Each man seeking gifts carried on his shoulders a boy. (See Memorial Festivals.) This was the sign that it was a *moko*, and gifts and ornaments were given as demanded. In this custom, however, there was a squaring of accounts just as in the *hoki* on Hiva Oa. This Nuku Hiva informant claimed that the ancient term for *hoki* on that island was *haka eva'eva*. For this word Dordillon (8) gives this translation, "to sing and dance in honor of someone in order to obtain presents."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

534 Drums were made of hollowed trunks of coconut or Cordia trees by professional drum makers. The head of the drum was made of a piece of shark's skin drawn taut by means of cords of sennit arranged after the manner shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 29, *f*.) Small tiki
[532 figures carved of human bone served to tighten the head by drawing
321] together the two cords passing through each of them, in exactly the same way as the heads of modern drums are tightened.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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114 a trained musician, and therefore no students except those who themselves have had the good fortune to become personally familiar with native music have up to this time had any acquaintanceship with it, for there have been no studies made that are of much value. This explains in part the oversight of students of the native culture. Another factor that has contributed is the fact that, although music is continually mentioned by travellers from the earliest time up to the present, it has never been given serious attention as a definite element in the native life. When most students read of singing in connection with festivals or rites, they accept it as a feature of the occasion and promptly forget it or dismiss it as an unimportant—though perhaps pleasant—accessory, much as we accept music at a dinner, a ball, or in church, as the usual thing and hence nothing to be particularly remarked.

X 533 535 All the world knows that the Polynesians were dancers; and yet music, both vocal and instrumental, had a far more prominent and serious place in every phase of the native life than did dancing. There were only certain occasions when dancing was in order, and at these times music of one kind or another always furnished the accompaniment. But there were innumerable other occasions associated with practically every activity in life—with worship, work, and war; with grief and joy; with love-making and play; with nursing a beloved child and exulting over prowess or revenge—when melody and rhythm furnished the magic skein that was woven into the evanescent webs of chant and song in which were bound, as the snared fly is enfolded by the spider, the sentiments and longings, and even the profoundest religious ideas of this race of spontaneous artists.

X 533 171 This is neither the time nor the place to attempt to make a comparative study of the music of the different islands; but it may not be out of place to mention certain inferences based on personal experience and to cite a few instances in which early visitors to islands in widely separated parts of Polynesia have mentioned singing in a way that indicates that there was group singing in all of the islands comparable to that about to be described in the Marquesas; in other words that, although perhaps formal chanting was more generally employed in the Marquesas than elsewhere, these islands were by no means exceptional in this way.

It is sometimes maintained that the ancient Hawaiians apparently had not developed group singing comparable to that of their cousins in the southern islands. If there was group singing it is certainly singular that early visitors fail to mention being entertained by choral songs, or hearing chants in connection with the religious rites. But it would be even more singular if the ancestors of a people, who today almost without exception exhibit a natural instinct for harmony and rhythm greater than that of

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment.

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again.

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people.

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children

fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraordinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age, trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was given concerning the relative chronological order of this ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche ceremony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, resembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid 221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only survivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of rationship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged